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CHURCH AND STATE IN INDIA.

BY

SIR THEODORE C. HOPE, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

FORMERLY ORDINARY MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE TRACT COMMITTEE.

LONDON:
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Introduction.

The Census of India taken in 1891 has disclosed the fact that the Christians in our Empire are not only a much larger, but also a more growing body than had hitherto been supposed. Periodically, indeed, the attention of Church-people in England has been aroused to the interests of Christianity in our great dependency, and notable results have ensued. The deportation of missionaries and the State protection of Jagannáth directly led to the foundation of the See of Calcutta, and of the Anglican Church as a body, in 1813. The next thirty years saw, on the one hand, a vast extension of missionary enterprise by the great Anglican and Nonconformist Societies, and on the other, a steady increase in State-paid establishments, Roman Catholic and Presbyterian as well as Church of England, together with many struggles of the last-named towards organisation and discipline, crowned by the foundation of the Sees of Madras and Bombay in 1833. Another quarter of a century passed away in the quiet strengthening of the foundations of religion—of devotion in the European, of intelligent faith in the Native, and of realisation by both of their fellowship in the Church of God—when the cataclysm of the Mutiny supervened, introducing a new era.

The re-establishment of our rule brought with it a largely increased and ever-growing European population, for the army, railways, telegraphs, new agricultural and manufacturing industries, expanding trade and commerce, education, science, art. It brought also a deeper sense of their responsibilities in those in power on the spot, and a wider and less spasmodic interest in Indian affairs on the part of their fellow-countrymen in England. Missionary effort has been redoubled by both the Church and other agencies, marked by the novel feature of Communities of clergy, and of women, devoting themselves to evangelisation, and has been rewarded at length by returns a hundredfold.

Following this indication, the wise encouragement of autonomy and the free bestowal of Orders are establishing the Native Christian Church upon a broad basis. Again, the rapid increase of the European and Eurasian official and non-official population has called into being "Additional Clergy" and Middle Class Schools, principally supported by voluntary contributions, while from the same sources the Anglican organisation has been strengthened by three new Bishoprics in 1877-79, and two more between 1890 and the present date.

Accompanying these encouraging features of the past thirty years, however, must be noted the rise of hostile influences. The State, partly from financial and partly from less creditable motives, has become loth to afford aid at all commensurate with the increased demand for religious ministrations, and has even evinced some readiness to yield to attacks on its ecclesiastical establishments, directed by the animosity of certain sections of Nonconformists in England, and supported by the race prejudice and indifferentism of the newly educated class of Natives in India. Difficulties of this nature, which came to a crisis in 1882, were fortunately tided over, but the same causes are still at work, and in these days, when Disestablishment is in the air in England, they cannot safely be ignored. I trust, therefore, that no apology is needed for the following endeavour to promote a fuller acquaintance than is generally possessed by English people with the relations between Church and State in India, and the justification for the aid of Christianity from the public revenues in the case of Europeans and Eurasians.

In view of the vast importance of the issue, no less than of the necessity, in order to its due consideration, of bringing together into an accessible form the mass of information relevant to it which is buried in the records of the Government, I propose to deal with it at some length, offering, first, a sketch of the existing system; next, a comparison of it with the reasonably understood obligations of the Government; thirdly, a discussion of the principal objections which have been made to it; fourthly, an exposition of its disadvantages and shortcomings; and, lastly, some suggestions as to the course which appears desirable for the future [1].

[1] Much of what follows, though by no means all, has already been to a limited extent before the public. See the "Parliamentary Return, East India Ecclesiastical Grants, No. 71, March 6, 1884"; also the "Minute," edited with a preface and notes by the present Bishop (then Archdeacon) of Lahore, Rivingtons, 1885; and the "Indian Church Quarterly Review," January, 1892. The Parliamentary Returns, Nos. 514 of 1871 and 37 of 1880, obtained by Mr. Miall and Mr. Baxter, are also suggestive.

Sketch of the Existing System.

The population of India, in the British Provinces and the Native States, is found by the Census of 1891 to be divided, according to religious beliefs, in the manner stated below:—

	British Provinces.	*Native States.*	*Totals.*
Hindus	155,171,943	52,559,784	207,731,727
Musalman	49,550,491	7,770,673	57,321,164
Animistic	5,848,427	3,432,040	9,280,467
Buddhist	7,095,398	35,963	7,131,361
Christian	1,491,458	792,714	2,284,172
Sikh	1,407,968	499,865	1,907,833
Jain	495,001	921,637	1,416,638
Zoroastrian	76,952	12,952	89,904
Jew	14,669	2,525	17,194
Minor and Unspecified	20,645	22,326	42,971
Grand Total	221,172,952	66,050,479	287,223,431

These figures show that Christians have increased by 316,033 in the Provinces and 105,713 in the States, total 421,746, since the Census of 1881, and that their advance has been 22·65 per cent., compared with a growth of only 13·1 per cent. in the entire population. Even after allowing for a somewhat stricter registration on the present occasion, the result remains very remarkable. The Christians of India outnumber the Sikh nation.

The Christians are found in the several Provinces and States in the undermentioned proportions:—

British Provinces.		Native States.		Total India.
Assam	16,820			16,820
Burma and Andamans	121,223	Shan States	154	121,377
Bengal	190,816	Bengal States	1,655	192,471
North-West Provinces	58,424	North-West Provinces States	77	58,501
Punjab and Quetta	56,582	Punjab States and Cashmer	539	57,121
Ajmer-Merwara	2,683	Rajputana	1,855	4,538
Bombay, Sindh & Aden	161,766	Bombay States and Baroda	8885	170,651
Central Provinces	12,970	Central India and C.P. States	6335	19,305
Berar	1,359	Hyderabad	20,429	21,788
Madras & Coorg	868,815	Madras States	714,651	1,583,466
		Mysore	38,134	38,134
Totals	1,491,458		792,714	2,284,172

Thus, 1,814,149 out of the whole number are domiciled in Bombay and to the south of it.

The distribution of the Christian population according to race is shewn in the table opposite [1], and also that by denomination, but in the latter case some uncertainty remains, owing to a considerable number of persons having either vaguely described themselves as "Protestants," or omitted altogether to state the denomination to which they belong.

I much regret presenting to my readers such a dry statistical exordium, but feel that it is indispensable to a full grasp of the interesting problems which lie beyond. I would crave indulgence while drawing further on their forbearance in this respect.

It will now be clear that, speaking broadly, about two millions of the Christians are natives of India, and only a quarter of a million are Europeans and Eurasians. Again, of the native Christians, nearly two-thirds live in the British Provinces and fully one-third in the territories of native Princes. In the case of the latter, our responsibilities may be deemed to be different, and less onerous, than in the case of the former. Finally, of the native Christians, two-thirds belong to the Roman Catholic and Syrian (Jacobite) Churches, one-third to the Church of England or Churches in communion with her, and to Protestant Bodies of various denominations.

The next point for notice is that the whole of the religious establishments of this great body of native Christians, eight-ninths of all Christians in India, may be broadly described as self-supporting, and unconnected with the State—indeed practically ignored by it. Before passing on to the relations of the State with European and Eurasian Christians, a few particulars regarding these independent native Christians may be interesting and not out of place.

Taking first the Syrians, they are located entirely in the native States of Travancore and Cochin, and number about 200,000. They have their own Metropolitan, Bishops and clergy, and now own allegiance to the Jacobite Patriarch of Jerusalem. They possess churches, and "lands and funds" to a limited extent, but how far the latter may be free from State assessment does not appear. The native government does not interfere in any way with their affairs.

The Roman Catholics, among whom may be reckoned at least 100,000 Syrians whose submission to Rome dates back to days

[1] The designations used are in all cases those by which the individuals have described themselves. The totals of each group comprise all who have returned themselves under the sub-heads named, with, in addition, such of the "Protestants" and "Unspecified" as could be pretty clearly recognised by their locality as belonging to that group. For this table and the two preceding ones I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. J. A. Baines, the Indian Census Commissioner.

Distribution by Denomination.	Distribution by Race.							Grand Total.
	Europeans.		Eurasians.		Total,	Natives.		
	Provinces.	*Native States.*	*Provinces.*	*Native States.*	*European and Eurasian.*	*Provinces.*	*Native States.*	
Church of England, with Churches of India, Ireland, and America, Anglican Church, and Episcopalians	91,526	11,619	26,798	3,124	133,067	168,126	39,420	340,613
Church of Rome	31,907	3,738	32,243	3,846	71,734	761,657	481,872	1,315,263
Syrian Church—Jacobite section	15	—	3	—	18	2,091	198,358	200,467
Greek, Armenian, and Abyssinian Churches	697	29	270	5	1001	253	4	1,258
Church of Scotland (Established and Free), Presbyterians, United Presbyterians, Reformed Presbyterians, American and Irish Presbyterians, Irish Presbyterian Mission	9,852	783	2,276	164	13,075	32,410	866	46,351
Baptists	2,819	88	2,243	109	5,259	196,520	967	202,746
Wesleyans, Wesleyan Methodists, Methodists, Primitive Methodists, Methodist Episcopalians, Bible Christians	4,422	940	1,918	431	7,711	22,938	1,474	32,123
Lutherans, German Mission, Swedish Church, Reformed Dutch, Zwinglians, Moravians, German Church, Evangelicals, Evangelist Church, Evangelic Union, Reformed Church	1,253	32	147	48	1,480	67,089	836	69,405
Congregationalists, London Mission, Independents, Unsectarians, Nonconformists, Dissenters, Puritans, Calvinists, Welsh Calvinists	2,299	143	1,162	107	3,711	11,756	35,469	50,936
Plymouth Brethren, Swedenborgians, New Jerusalem, Catholic Apostolic, Quakers, Society of Friends, Open Brethren, Salvationists, Anabaptists	169	9	37	1	216	1,223	6	1,445
Protestants	3,472	466	3,634	418	7,990	3,769	2,454	14,213
Unspecified	1,100	603	505	253	2,461	2,848	4,043	9,352
	149,531	18,450	71,236	8,506	247,723	1,270,680	765,769	2,284,172

of Portuguese supremacy, number a million and a quarter, of whom 550,000 are in the Madras British Provinces, and nearly half a million in the Madras Native States—chiefly Travancore and Cochin. The bulk of the remainder are in Bombay and Bengal. With the exception of a few grants which have survived from preceding Portuguese or other Governments, the State gives no support of any kind, unless grants in aid for secular education in their schools may be deemed such. The Church establishment comprises 6 Archbishops, 21 Bishops, and 2 Prefectures Apostolic; also about 1400 Priests, aided by not less than 525 men and 1160 women who are members of religious communities, and a body of Catechists of whom no record is available. By these are served fully 2,500 churches and chapels, with some 1500 schools containing fully 80,000 Christian pupils. To meet the cost, about £26,000 from the Association for the Propagation of the Faith and £15,000 from the Society of the Holy Childhood, with minor grants from other Roman Catholic organisations in Europe, are received annually, and largely supplemented by local contributions.

The Church of England, and Churches in communion with her, have about 207,546 adherents, according to the census, but the proportions shewn below are claimed by her two great

	Baptized.	*Catechumens.*	*Total.*	*Communicants.*
Church Missionary Society .	102,294	13,245	115,539	28,913
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel . . .	78,178	14,307	92,485	26,905
	180,472	27,552	208,024	55,818

Societies, according to their Reports of 1891. Those Societies then employed 210 European and 266 native ordained clergy, aided by 91 European and 3424 native Lay teachers. Their respective outlay was £86,000 and £36,000 raised in Europe, with not less than Rx15,000[1] each of local contributions in addition, making a total of 152,000, in sterling and tens of rupees. In addition to this, the Oxford Mission, the Society of S. John the Evangelist, and various Sisterhoods, the contributions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of the "Bible," and other Tract and Book Societies, and various minor agencies,

[1] "Rx" indicates tens of rupees. When exchange was at two shillings per rupee Rx10 was equivalent to £1 sterling, but at present, with a rate of 15*d.*, it is only equal to 12*s.* 6*d.*

must not be overlooked. In this case, as in that of all the others, the bulk of the work lies in the Madras Presidency.

Regarding the Protestant Bodies, statistics have lately been

	Native Christians.	*Native Communicants.*	*Churches or Congregations.*
Baptist Group	214,927	84,447	1,084
Lutheran Group	79,035	33,448	608
Congregational Group . . .	77,466	13,775	625
Presbyterian Group . . .	40,452	12,931	287
Wesleyan Group	32,519	15,856	618
Moravian and Miscellaneous Group	5,030	695	13
	449,429	161,152	3,235

published in connection with the Decennial Missionary Conference, which has just taken place at Bombay. They afford the results given above, and shew also that the Missions therein comprised are worked by 1463 "Ordained Agents" (including ladies), of whom 687 are Natives, and 3310 Lay Preachers, of whom all except 146 are natives. These do not include teachers in schools. These figures indicate a somewhat larger number of Christian adherents of these Groups than those derived from the Census, and shewn at page 9, but the difference probably lies in the method of estimating the total at 2½ times the communicants, which has in some cases been adopted. It would have been interesting to know the cost of these Missions, and the native contributions towards them, but such particulars are as impossible to obtain with any approach to accuracy in this as in the other cases.

These particulars regarding the native Christians may be

	Total Christians.	*Ordained Clergy & Agents.*	*Lay Agents.*
Syrian Jacobites	200,467	not known	not known
Roman Catholics	1,243,529	1,400	1,685
Church of England . . .	208,024	476	3,515
Protestant Bodies . . .	449,429	1,463[1]	3,310
[1] Including about 434 ladies.	2,101,449		

summed up as above. If we allow about 700,000 for Syrians and Roman Catholics of earlier days, the whole of the remainder may be attributed to missionary effort during a century of British rule. It does not seem possible to make any comparison of either

the stations or the pupils in schools, owing to the variety of practice as to counting out-stations, in the one case, and as to including non-Christians, in the other.

I now proceed to deal with the main subject I have in view, namely, the case of the European and Eurasian Christians, whose religion is recognised, so to speak, by the State, and on whose behalf it maintains, or helps to maintain, a certain number of clergy. The distinction thus observed by the Government between these Christians and the natives, or at any rate those of the latter Christianised since our occupation of India, is well defined and intelligible. The conditions of our rule were, whether by agreement or *de facto*, an absolute non-interference with the existing religions of the people. As we found them, State-aided or endowed, or not, so we unavoidably left and have left them to the present day. To afford Christian religious ministrations to our Christian servants imported from Europe, and to the Christian population directly attributable to our administration, was at once obligatory on us as Christians, and politically unobjectionable in us as rulers. But to have supported a missionary propaganda among our native subjects would have been inadmissible equally, because contrary to safe policy as well as to our engagements, whether the Christian, the Hindu, the Mahometan, or any other creed were so favoured. In short, the relations of Church and State in India rest, and must rest until (if ever) complete changes develope themselves in the currents of Oriental religious thought, upon the basis of *uti possidetis* in respect of the whole native population, and of equal, that is, neither more nor less favouring treatment, in respect of the foreign European element and its direct derivations.

What this element is, we may now proceed to examine. We have seen above that the Europeans and Eurasians number

	Europeans.	*Eurasians.*
European troops	70,953	0
European Officers with native troops . .	3,617	0
Civil Establishments	10,524	8,190
Railway Establishments	6,093	9,093
Non-officials	76,813	62,559
	168,000	79,842

about a quarter of a million, of whom the Eurasians are, speaking roughly, nearly one third. The proportions of these em-

ployed in the public service, and otherwise, are now given, together with their families. To pursue the enquiry further, into the condition of the non-officials, is not possible with any accuracy, since the census returns of "occupations" are not classified according to race, but it may be safely assumed that nearly the whole of the non-official Europeans are merchants, tradesmen, artificers, clerks, and the like, earning a competence in one way or another, while the Eurasians are almost entirely on a lower level, and to a large extent in an indigent condition. A recent Government investigation into the condition of about 21,000 Europeans and Eurasians in Calcutta shewed that 8 per cent. of the former and 22 per cent. of the latter were paupers, "actually traced out as in receipt of charitable relief of one kind or another." These percentages are about one half greater in the case of the former, and three times greater in that of the latter, than what have been recorded in the poorest county in England in mid-winter.

This European and Eurasian community is classified as follows by Archdeacon Baly (Calcutta), in a very valuable letter (with elaborate appendix) addressed to the Metropolitan on the 28th April, 1882, and among the papers in the Parliamentary Return, No. 71:—

A. British soldiers of all grades, both regimental and on staff employ.

B. European Civil Servants of Government, Covenanted and Uncovenanted.

C. Europeans and Eurasians, born and settled in the country, employed in a subordinate capacity by Government, as clerks, &c., or being the children or descendants of those who are or have been so employed.

D. European employés on the State and Guaranteed Railways.

E. Europeans and Eurasians, unconnected with Government service, and fairly well-to-do, as merchants, tradesmen, planters, &c.

F. The very poor European and Eurasian population, found principally in the larger cities and stations, and in great part the children and descendants of European workmen, soldiers, and clerks. They are unemployed, living a precarious hand-to-mouth kind of life, and generally helpless and thriftless.

As to such of these persons as belong to the Church of England, the Archdeacon points out that almost all congregations are composed of more than one class, and may be distinguished as under:—

I.—Congregations principally, in some cases almost entirely, military. The latter are found only in great stations having a separate military

church and chaplain, such as Allahabad, Lucknow, and Meean Meer. The civil element in military congregations is comparatively very small, and drawn generally from classes *B* and *C*, with a small admixture of *E*.

II.—Congregations principally civilian, and composed generally of classes *B*, *C*, *E*, and *F*. With a few exceptions, the great majority in civil congregations are directly or indirectly connected with the Government service, and there is in all of them a small military element, chiefly of officers on the Staff; but in some the proportion of such military is considerable.

III.—Railway congregations composed almost entirely, or chiefly, of class *D*.

IV.—Mixed congregations, in which the proportions of civil and military are nearly equal.

The Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan congregations are found only at the centres of Government, or other stations where the number of European Government servants is sufficient to enable salaries or allowances to be obtained from Government according to a prescribed scale.

Regarding the relative numbers of these congregations no accurate statistics are available. The returns laid before Parliament in 1880 were useless, as they excluded, under a strict interpretation of the order, not only the families of the higher civil and military servants, but the whole body of inferior Government clerks, pensioners, and servants of municipalities, as well as the entire non-official population, although the clergy are officially required to provide ministrations for all such within their limits. The totals were further reduced by the absence of a large portion of the army in Afghanistan. But in 1873 it was approximately ascertained that the average number of Europeans under a chaplain's charge was above 700, and under the other clergy from 200 to 300.

For these congregations the State employs, as Archdeacon Baly remarks—

"in the proportion which it considers reasonable, the clergy of the three great denominations of English Christianity, viz., of the Anglican, Roman, and Presbyterian Churches, because by far the greater number of Christians belong to one or other of them. It does not, as a rule, employ the clergy of other Protestant denominations, Wesleyans, Baptists, or Congregationalists, partly because they number too few members in any one place to demand a special clergyman, partly because they differ so slightly from one or other of the two Protestant Churches whose clergy are employed, that the cases are very few

indeed in which there is a conscientious difficulty of communion with either the Anglican or the Presbyterian Church."

The numbers of the clergy so employed in the year 1891 are believed to have been as shown below. The Church of England

Denomination.	*Chaplains.*	*Aided Clergy.*	*Total.*
Anglican	156	59	215
Roman Catholic	72	4	76
Presbyterian	13	9	22
Wesleyan, &c.	0	28	28
Total	241	100	341

and Presbyterian chaplains form a regular service, with rights to furlough and pension, and the numbers quoted comprise a percentage for absentees. The aided Church of England clergy either are partially supported by general subscriptions or belong to missionary stations where services for Europeans can be held in addition to the ordinary work. The Roman Catholic clergy are on a different footing. They are not Government servants, and are subordinate to their own ecclesiastical superiors only, but in stations where there are European regiments, or not less than 100 European Roman Catholics in the service of Government, they receive salaries of from Rx20 to Rx30 per mensem, according to length of service, and allowances for petty establishments, as also travelling allowances for visiting out-stations where there are not less than 20 European Roman Catholic Government servants. Finally, Presbyterian and Wesleyan ministers obtain capitation grants, and travelling allowances if necessary, where there are British troops requiring their services.

The statistics as to the number of congregations thus served are not very complete or clear, but they would seem to be approximately 617, as indicated below, exclusive of a few out-stations of the Church of Rome and Presbyterians which cannot

Denomination.	*Stations.*	*Out-stations.*	*Total.*
Anglican	182	293	475
Roman Catholic	76	0	76
Presbyterian	22	0	22
Wesleyan, &c.	28	16	44
Total	308	309	617

be traced. The out-station system is explained in the following extract from a letter from the Metropolitan dated 25th January, 1881 :—

"The chaplains are stationed at the more important stations, and

they receive from me visiting orders, of which the following is a specimen :—'The Chaplain of Dacca will visit Comilla four times a year, Mymensingh three times a year, Furreedpore twice a year, and Sylhet four times a year': and in some instances the orders are to visit such and such a station once in six months, or even, in the case of very out-of-the-way stations, once in twelve months. It should be borne in mind that these visits to out-stations involve often a most serious amount of travelling, the distances being some hundreds of miles, and the travelling being by all sorts of modes of conveyances."

His Lordship also points out that in most cases the clergy have other special duties, such as the charge of jails and hospitals; and that as regards clergy ministering to congregations under Class II, the wealthy coming under their charge are far outnumbered by those of small means or quite poor, and much the larger portion of their pastoral work lies among the latter, in relieving their poverty and giving them instruction, guidance, and encouragement.

Besides the stations and out-stations specified, there are many containing numerous Europeans and Eurasians, official as well as non-official, which are served by Anglican and Roman clergy supported by local subscriptions and Societies, and many more which receive no religious ministrations at all. In some cases the neglect is very marked, in others the stations are of small size. But it is obvious that even the 617 which are nominally provided for can be but imperfectly served by their small band of 341 clergy, much of whose time is taken up by long journeys or independent work. For 168,000 Europeans and 80,000 Eurasians only 341 !

Episcopal supervision is provided, in the case of the Church of Rome, for the priests ministering to state employés, as one of the incidental duties of the great Hierarchy which she has constituted, as we have seen, for the regulation of her native Indian Church. For the Anglican Church, the position is reversed. Having risen in natural connection with British rule from its very foundations, the links between them have gradually become a chain, binding her heads to the interests and service of the State, and restraining them from furthering her true vocation as mother of all the children actually or potentially in her communion. The three Bishoprics constituted by ancient Acts of Parliament have long since become unsuited, by delimitation and excessive extent, to the requirements of the day, but legal difficulties and financial needs stand in the way of that free adjustment and multiplication of Dioceses which is now urgently demanded, while the political position of State functionaries

prevents the unification of interests and action between those who should be one body in fact as well as in name.

As to churches, those of the Church of England appear from the "Indian Church Directory" to be 386, besides many temporary buildings, rooms, &c., used for Divine service. Excluding all such of these as are the property of missionary societies, the remainder (about 265) are deemed to belong to the State, and are maintained by it, though in many instances largely constructed by private subscription. Statistics for all India are not forthcoming, but it appears from reports on the Church Building Fund and other sources that in the dioceses of Calcutta (including Lucknow and Chota Nagpore) and Rangoon there are 195 Anglican churches, which cost Rx350,000, and that Rx190,000 out of this sum was raised by voluntary contributions. Out of the balance of Rx160,000 borne by Government, Rx60,000 was for strictly military churches. Of Roman Catholic churches the large number has already been mentioned, but the Government is not known to have contributed to more than a very few of those which are now used by its servants in the great stations. There are twelve Presbyterian churches belonging to Government.

The cost of these ecclesiastical establishments, on an average of six past years' accounts, and as estimated for the present time, is given on the next page. It may be remarked that the proportions of the Anglican and Roman outlay vary according to the preponderance of soldiers belonging to one church or the other who may happen to be in India from year to year, and also that absences, vacancies, &c. usually cause savings of actual outlay compared with the authorised standard. The expenditure, being all in India, is shewn in tens of rupees or "conventional sterling." But there is in addition a charge for pensions in England which (with minor items) amounted in 1887–88 to £45,078 for 146 Anglican and Presbyterian clergy. This is equivalent, at our exchange of 15*d.*, to Rx72,000. The whole charge may thus be stated in round numbers at Rx300,000, or at £187,500 by conversion into sterling at the above rate.

This sketch of the existing system would be incomplete without drawing attention to the large amount of voluntary subscriptions for religious and charitable work, other than missions to the heathen, which supplement the ecclesiastical grants of the State. The outlay through the Church of England is stated by Archdeacon Baly to have been in 1880 about Rx5,759 per annum in known items raised in India, including Rx967 interest from invested funds; but in addition to this

he reminds us that contributions in India and England now provide altogether, or in greater part, for above 50 clergymen,

Denomination.	*Present Estimate.*		*Six years average 1876–7 to 1881–2.*
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Anglican Diocesan Officers .	13,080		
„ Chaplains . . .	115,340	143,430	126,738
„ Aided Clergy . .	9,130		
„ Petty Establishments .	5,880		
Roman Catholic Chaplains .	19,460		
„ Aided Clergy . .	2,940	24,330	33,753
„ Establishments . .	1,930		
Presbyterian Chaplains . .	11,030		
„ Establishments . .	600	13,860	11,040
Presbyterian and Wesleyan Aided Clergy . . .	2,230		
Unapportioned items :			
Houserent, conveyance, travelling and contingent allowances . . , . .	—	27,870	12,517
Cemetery maintenance charges .	—	4,020	3,940
Less: probable savings . .		– 13,770	
Totals		199,740	187,988
Church and cemetery construction and repair . . .		30,000	28,333
Grand Totals	Rx.	229,740	216,321

ministering to European and Eurasian congregations for which no chaplain is provided by Government, for many thousand boys and girls of European descent educated in schools and orphanages, for most of the relief of the European and Eurasian poor, as well as for the minor current expenses of the churches. The Roman Catholic Church and the Presbyterian and other Protestant bodies are in no way behindhand in well-doing of this sort, and their contributions, though they cannot be specified, are known to be very large.

The resources for the maintenance of Christian worship in India are thus shown to be of three kinds—(1) endowments to Roman Catholics by the old Portuguese Government, which boldly recognised its duties in this respect; (2) annual cash grants by the British Government, of which Europeans and Eurasians derive practically the entire benefit; and (3) voluntary subscriptions raised by Christians in India and England. Taken as a whole, the State aid certainly does not cover half the total

expenditure incurred on behalf of the European and Eurasian community, nor is that total at all adequate to their necessities.

Existing State Aid compared with Obligations.

Insufficient as the funds available for maintaining the Christianity of our countrymen in India has thus been shewn to be, there have not been wanting those, already alluded to, who have objected to such aid as the State affords, and have advocated its withdrawal. In consequence of inquiries on the subject, the Government of India in 1879–81 furnished to the Secretary of State for India full information as to the nature of the religious ministrations paid for by the State, with the opinion of the Anglican ecclesiastical authorities that no chaplains were appointed where they were not really required. But the Secretary of State replied that the question was, whether the number of chaplains went "beyond the obligations of Government, reasonably understood"? This question must now be considered, at some unavoidable length (see the Return No 71).

The obligations of the State may be described as of three kinds—documentary, moral and religious, and political. Underlying them all is the obvious qualification that they can only be held operative within reasonable limits, so that, for instance, while, on the one hand, the nature of the duties which both civil and military officers have to perform so scatters them over India that ministrations are justly due to smaller bodies of them than would be a clergyman's full charge in England, no claim can, on the other, be set up on behalf of isolated knots of half a dozen or so.

Documentary Obligations.

The first document on record, to which attention was invited by the Secretary of State, is the charter granted by William III to the East India Company in 1698. This requires them to provide a minister approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London, and a proper place, set apart for divine service only, in "every garrison" and "superior factory," and in every ship of 500 tons burden or upwards, maintained by them within their limits. It is obvious that any formal document of this kind may become obsolete through changes of circumstances and views. But lapse of time does not appear to have yet wrought very material effects in this instance; for we find that its essential requirements of Christian clergy, under due ecclesiastical control, for civil (factories) as well as military servants, subject to the reasonable

limit of the factory (or ship) being of a certain size, have been acted on, and are applicable, up to the present day.

In 1813 the growth of the Company's dominions led to the making of more adequate provision for "a Church establishment" by appointing a Bishop and three Archdeacons (53 Geo. III, cap. 155, sections 49–53). The broadness of the phrase quoted[1] is noticeable in connection with the next step which occurred, namely, the appointment of Presbyterian Chaplains in 1822, and with the still more important advance, on a liberal basis, which was made in 1833. I have not yet been able to trace back to its origin the grant of stipends to Roman Catholic clergy for ministrations to the troops; but I find that such existed in 1828.

In 1833 (3 & 4 William IV, cap. 85, sections 89–102), on the occasion of the renewal of the Company's Charter, the Episcopate was enlarged by Bishoprics for Madras and Bombay, the Bishop of Calcutta being constituted Metropolitan, but two further measures of the highest importance were also enacted—*first*, provision was made for Chaplains of the Church of Scotland who were to be subject, on the analogy of the Charter of 1698, to the "spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in all things of the presbytery of Edinburgh"; and *secondly*, the power was given to the Governor-General in Council of—

"granting from time to time, with the sanction of the Court of Directors and of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, to any sect, persuasion, or community of Christians not being of the United Church of England and Ireland, or of the Church of Scotland, such sums of money as may be expedient for the purpose of instruction or for the maintenance of places of worship."

The history of this clause is remarkable. It was conceded by the Government in lieu of a clause proposed by Mr. Shiel, who protested against the provision, which the Bill then contained, in favour of the Churches of England and Scotland only. It was preceded by debates, originating with Mr. O'Connell, who urged that in India "they could not have a dominant Church," and that "all Christians should be put upon an equal footing." In these debates the whole question of State aid to religion was gone into. The allegation that it was unjust to support Christianity out of revenues derived from Hindus and Mahometans was refuted by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay and others; the necessity of religious ministrations for Chris-

[1] This broadness was made a ground of argument in 1833 by Mr. Shiel (*Hansard*, 3rd Series, vol. xx, p. 44).

tians was vindicated; and Lord Morpeth, on behalf of the Dissenters, disclaimed all objection to the provision for the Churches of England and Scotland. Moreover, Mr. Charles Grant, the President of the India Board, made on behalf of the Government the following declarations:—

"This country had no right to send its subjects abroad without giving them the religious advantages they enjoyed at home; and it was bound to place within the reach of its Indian subjects the means of attaining the blessings of Christianity. . . . He did not like the idea of connecting domination with any Church. It was with the intention of providing religious instruction for the officers who were sent to govern India that he had proposed the resolution. . . . The Government would neither establish nor promote in India anything which was unfair or intolerant to any religion, meaning certainly only to do honour to the English name, and to the principles of Christianity. . . . He knew that there was a very large Roman Catholic community in India, who deserved the peculiar regard and consideration of the Government; and although they were not prepared to state in what mode or to what extent and under what form their claims would best be satisfied, the Government undertook to apply themselves fairly and sincerely to the task."—(*Hansard*, 3rd Series, vol. xix, pages 800, 1020, and 1032; and vol. xx, pages 14, 29, and 44.)

It should here be noted that in the Statute no limitation to Government servants occurs, nor is there in the declarations more than the allusion to them just quoted, which cannot avail against the broad terms in which they and the debate generally are couched, and the references to a "community."

Thus was constituted for India in 1833 a Christian Church system in the broadest and most comprehensive sense of the term, a system comprising the whole body of Christians—Anglican, Roman, and Nonconformist—equally eligible for State aid, yet not on any more favoured footing than the other religions recognised and State-aided in India. The policy of the equality of all creeds before the State, which had already been acted upon by the Company's Government with equal emphasis and success in the case of the faiths of the but lately conquered Mahometan and Hindu, was applied to the several phases of the Christianity of their rulers. This policy has never yet, that I am aware of, been authoritatively changed. Whatever discussion has since arisen has turned upon comparatively subordinate points, relating to the form which the guaranteed aid to the several denominations should assume, and the extent to

which, in view of financial or other considerations, it should proceed.

The next authoritative utterance on the subject which I have come across is contained in a Despatch from the Court of Directors in 1840 (No. 1, dated 17th March), in which a lakh and a half of rupees are granted for a new Cathedral at Calcutta, on the ground that—

"the present church accommodation at Calcutta is clearly insufficient, and it has been admitted by us to be the duty of Government adequately to provide for its civil and military functionaries the means and services of our religion. Consistently with this principle, and . . . we authorise the expenditure," &c.

Somewhat later, in 1844, the increase of the Christian population of various classes throughout Bengal and the North-Western Provinces led to the support by the Government of India of a proposal by the Metropolitan for increasing the number of the clergy by appointing Eurasians and Natives to be Uncovenanted Sub-Assistant Chaplains. That the Government at that time contemplated ministrations to the non-official community is attested by the following remarks on the proposal in a Minute by the Hon. W. W. Bird:—

"It has long been my opinion that the services of such a class of persons are urgently required for the lower orders of Christians belonging to the Established Church with whom this part of India now abounds. . . . The fact is, that the lower orders of Christians above referred to, both European and Native, are grievously neglected. . . . The Ecclesiastical, like all other Departments, must go on increasing with the increase of civilisation. . . . It will enable us to provide, which no increase of chaplains educated at home will ever do, for the religious wants of an increasing Christian population, half English, half Native, to which our position in this country unavoidably gives rise, and which, unless those wants are provided for, will, like the Portuguese, rapidly degenerate and become an everlasting disgrace to the British Government."

And that ministrations even to Native Christians were not in those days considered beyond the scope of the Government policy, appears both from the above remarks and from the following passage in a Minute by the Hon. F. Millett:—

"Nor am I aware of any place, excepting perhaps Calcutta, where there is a congregation of Native Christians sufficiently numerous to warrant the entertainment of an ecclesiastical establishment at the expense of Government. . . . Where circumstances are

favourable, I should equally advocate the employment of Natives in the manner proposed."

The Court of Directors, in their reply (No. 2 of 11th March, 1846), objected to "introducing a lower grade of persons into the sacred office," but made the following remarks :—

"We admit it to be our duty to provide the means of spiritual instruction according to the principles of our National Church for the Christian servants of the State and their families. In view to the accomplishment of that important object, the number of chaplains has of late years been largely increased, and we should be prepared to consider any proposition which you might, after due inquiry, bring before us for a further augmentation founded on a clearly ascertained exigency of the public service."

In 1851–52 a discussion arose as to the selection of stations for Government chaplains, in the course of which Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Peter Grant, then Secretary to the Bengal Government, wrote as follows :—

"I have always understood that the old principle, which I have never heard has been authoritatively abandoned, in the distribution of the Company's chaplains, was, first, to provide fully for the European troops ; secondly, to provide adequately for the Presidency town, where large numbers of Protestant servants of Government of all classes are congregated, and where this benefit has been allowed to all the Protestant residents from very early times ; and thirdly, to distribute all that remains of the strength of the establishment, so as best to provide for the easily combined objects of supplying chaplains to the principal stations for civil officers and Native troops officered by Europeans, and of leaving no very large tract of country, in which European public servants and private persons are scattered, wholly without the benefit of a resident clergyman. This principle is intelligible and definite," &c.

The Government of India, while declining to lay down any positive rule as to what places should have a chaplain, stated that the principle laid down in Mr. Grant's note appeared sound and proper. The Metropolitan similarly accepted the principle, but complained that there never had been chaplains enough to carry it into effect. Upon this, a further discussion took place, in which much the same views were expressed, Lord Dalhousie endorsing Mr. Grant's principle as "sound and proper." The Court of Directors, to whom these proceedings were reported, approved, in their reply (No. 4, dated 2nd August, 1853), of the decision to lay down no rule, and took no exception to the principle thus recognised.

In the proceedings summarised in the preceding paragraphs two opposite tendencies will be observed. The Government of India, in harmony with the practice commencing from the times when non-officials were admitted to India, and with the absence of any restriction to officials in the Statute and Declarations of 1833, persistently counted non-officials among those to whom ministrations of clergy were to be extended. At the same time, they made their public servants of all grades the basis of their distribution of chaplains, and did not admit any liability for "miscellaneous congregations of Christians wherever they may grow up in this vast territory." The Court of Directors, on the other hand, unwilling, as it would seem, to give formal recognition of the existence of non-officials, would allude only to the needs of officials, civil as well as military, *and their families*, while the increased grants they gave were in reality based to a considerable extent upon the needs of both.

I may here remark, parenthetically, that it does not seem that any limitation of support to the Church of England can be inferred from the use of the term "our National Church" in the Despatch of 1846, in face of the Statute and Declarations of 1833, coupled with the fact that Presbyterians were in receipt of State support as early as 1822, and Roman Catholics at some date prior to 1828. Moreover, the phrase itself appears to have been merely echoed from the despatch of the Government of India, No. 10 of 17th August, 1844, into which it entered through having been used by the Metropolitan in describing his own proposals.

Some further steps may now be noticed, occurring after the transfer of India to the Crown. In 1859 another permanent addition to the chaplains was sanctioned by Sir Charles Wood (despatch No. 23 of 4th November, 1859), after a discussion in which the subscriptions of the Calcutta general community to the Additional Clergy Society and charitable objects were admitted as a ground for not pressing them to pay for certain of the chaplains in that city. In 1863 the system of grants-in-aid to the Additional Clergy Society for services of their clergy at stations where Government chaplains were required but not available, which had been introduced in 1855, was largely developed. In 1869 the system was extended to the Church of Scotland with reference to Presbyterian soldiers, and in some other cases. I may here remark that throughout the period under review the Churches both of Scotland and of Rome from time to time pressed their claims for increased support under the declarations of 1833, and made them good to some extent in the

face of considerable opposition, chiefly on financial grounds. The last material increase I know of was obtained by the Roman Catholics in 1876.

I must now notice a tendency adverse to the principle of State support of the Christian religion which has displayed itself during the last few years, though it has not yet led to much practical result. In 1870 the desire to improve the finances by economy in all departments raised a discussion, which continued till 1874, on the first principles on which ecclesiastical establishments in India should be regulated. Sir Richard Temple contended that the existing system of State aid should "not only be continued but if possible extended," and that the ecclesiastical expenditure was "reasonable, and even susceptible of moderate increase, provided only that the money be spent to the best possible advantage[1]." Some of his colleagues advocated various degrees of withdrawal from existing obligations. This important discussion was dropped without any practical conclusion, and it does not seem to have been even before the Members of the Government in 1876, when, in the course of a despatch recommending the increased allowances to Roman Catholic chaplains above alluded to, the following passage was inserted :—

"There is no ecclesiastical establishment in the sense of a State Church in India. The Government of India recognise the duty, within reasonable limits, of providing the ministrations of religion for British-born European servants of the Crown, and especially for soldiers and their families."

This passage involves the repudiation of all claim to consideration on the part not only of the non-official community but of all servants of Government not British-born, and of the families of all British-born servants except soldiers. The despatch has, consequently, been deemed to be the distinct enunciation of a new policy on the subject of State aid to the Christian Church in India. But I cannot admit its title to any such position,—as it appears to have been issued without any discussion of the vast change involved, as it does not seem to have ever been confirmed by Her Majesty's Government, as it has been followed by no definite action, and as it appears to me to be at variance with both the Statute and declarations of 1833, and the principles upon which the ecclesiastical establishment has been regulated up to the present day.

[1] The soundness of this opinion has since been illustrated by the rapid extension of State Railways, which has taxed to the utmost the resources of the Additional Clergy Societies.

To sum up this branch of my subject, I consider the documentary obligations of Government to be shewn to extend, within the reasonable limits already indicated—(1) to adequate provision for all Christian civil and military servants of the State, of whatever grade and race, and their families and dependents; and (2) to a certain limited aid to the European and Eurasian non-official community, wherever it is located within the same general range as the servants of the State. The case of native non-official Roman Catholics is partly met by their old State endowments (page 10), and partly by the fusion of State and voluntary aid already alluded to at page 18.

Moral and Religious Obligations.

The moral obligation may be first considered. Those who would cut down our obligations to the utmost admit that we are bound to provide religious ministrations for those of our public servants who *come out from England*, though not for such as are engaged in India, and still less for the descendants of the latter. For this distinction I fail to see any reasonable ground. Such ground cannot lie in mere contract, for nothing would be easier than to notify to every person entering the civil and military services in future that the State would make no religious provision for him, and the supply would, I fear, remain unaffected thereby; nor can it lie in the relative inability of those who come out from home to pay for their own religious ministrations, since the superior civil and military servants from home are unquestionably better off, as a class, than the superior servants engaged in India, while the lowest, the soldiers, are just as able (or unable) to pay as are the half-starving classes from whom our inferior Indian-born clerks, &c. are drawn. If, however, the admission that public servants coming out from home ought to have religious ministrations at the public expense is based merely on the belief that such ministrations are for their moral or spiritual good, then the argument applies just as much to those who do not come out from home as to those who do. Possibly it may be said that we have no moral right to tempt men to come from home without providing what their conscience and training leads them to believe to be for their eternal good. If so, then where is the application to stop, for the children and descendants of those whom we have so tempted out have as good a claim on us as their fathers, if not better, for it is owing to our original action that they find themselves helplessly stranded in a foreign and heathen land. In fact, the whole European and Eurasian class, excepting such small, though growing, portions of it as have come out for commercial pur-

poses, owes its existence to our original action as employers of labour. The moral obligation of such employers to provide religious ministrations is amply and nobly recognised in England, and the line is not there rigidly drawn, as some would draw it in India, at the employed personally, excluding their dependents, and even their wives and children. It may be said that the line there is drawn at those who are unable to provide ministrations for themselves. Granting this, it is only the measure, not the ground of the admission of the obligation; and on applying it in India, it will embrace the whole large body to whom I plead that our obligations extend.

To sum up the argument under this head, I contend that the Government is under a moral obligation to provide religious ministrations for the European and Eurasian Christian community, who have been, with comparatively small exceptions, placed in India by its direct or indirect action; that there is no basis in logic or reason for distinction between those who have come direct from home and those who have not, and that there is to this obligation in India, as in all other countries where State aid to religion is recognised, the reasonable limit that those who are well to do, whether directly in the service of Government or not, shall relieve the general taxpayer by voluntary contributions. The obligation in respect of Christians generally rests not on moral, but on more general civil grounds, which will be touched upon presently.

I now turn from the moral to the religious obligation. Here no lengthy argument is needed. Upon those who do not recognise that neither individuals nor nations can get on in the world without a god, and that god, the Christian God, my words must produce no effect; for those who do, demonstration would be superfluous. I will therefore take my stand simply upon fact and precedent.

The fact I assume is, that England is still a Christian country, and that the British power in India is still a Christian power, possessing obligations as such to the Christians beneath its rule. Mr. Gladstone has long ago taught us that the State should recognise and support some religious expression of the community; that those who hold supreme power in a State are bound to support the religion which they believe to be true; and that it is the right and duty of Christian rulers to use their power, influence, and means to maintain the Christian religion. The mode in which, and the extent to which, it may be suitable to support and maintain it, under distinct or varying conditions, is of course a matter of detail.

The precedent which I quote is that of those who have preceded us as rulers of India throughout the long chain of centuries, extending back beyond the Christian era. No preceding Government possessing a distinctive faith has failed to mark its accession to power by providing for that faith from the resources of the State. Persecution of rival creeds may have been at times the accompaniment of such provision. But when we look around upon the vast extent and variety of non-Christian endowments, of every age from the most ancient to the most modern times, we see a striking monument of the bold expression by successive dynasties of their own convictions, coupled with their enlightened toleration of the convictions of others. Can a Christian Government repudiate its own similar obligations? shall it dare to do nothing for the religion of the Cross?

Political Obligations.

The obligations of the Government in their political aspect may next be considered—that is, the duty of the civil ruler to govern wisely, or with prudence and equity, as applied to this matter. It has been said by Gibbon, in a well-known passage, that at the time when Christianity presented itself to the Roman Empire for serious consideration,—

"the various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher as equally false; and by the Magistrate as equally useful."—(*Decline and Fall*, Chapter II.)

The Indian statesman, while holding with the Roman philosopher as to the falsity of the religions of an overwhelming majority of those over whom he is called to rule, can hardly refuse to concur with the Roman statesman in what has been happily termed "the sound view that every religion, so far as it does not circulate doctrines inconsistent with morality or dangerous to the State, tends to make better men, and therefore better citizens."

I shall not waste time in enlarging upon the fact, which does not seem to be denied, though it is often ignored, that the poor European and Eurasian population in India are in very special need of the "moral police" which religion supplies. Living often from hand to mouth, surrounded by every temptation to intemperance and vice, scattered so as to be relieved from the pressure of the public opinion of their fellows, they are too often on the verge of falling into debauchery, violence, and crime, and of becoming a source of danger to the native population and a public scandal to the British name. The extent of their pauperisation in Calcutta has already been mentioned. Our strict Indian

laws for dealing with European vagrants are founded upon this fact, but they aim at summary cure rather than prevention, which can only grow out of gentler and higher influences. It is no reply to pleas for this moral police for the special benefit of the European and Eurasian poor to remind us that the State has equal obligations in respect of its non-Christian subjects. We may readily admit the theoretical liability, and offer the twofold reply, that it is partly met by our subsidies to their religions (infra, p. 35) and partly minimised by the fact of the decency, domestic order, and thrift of Oriental populations. As to the good influences of religion upon the more well-to-do, and even the higher classes, their proof is involved in the maxim of the Roman statesman, and recorded in the history of the civilisation of Europe.

More serious notice must, however, be accorded to the contention that all these good influences might be as well, if not better, secured by religious institutions unsupported by the State. It may be readily conceded both that, as long as funds are sufficient, the source from which they are derived is immaterial, and that State control is no advantage, but the reverse, to religious institutions. But the real question is one of fact, whether the withdrawal of State aid (leaving out of view its injustice) would lead in India to the filling of the pecuniary void from other sources. I venture to think that few who are intimately acquainted with the circumstances of Europeans in India would answer this in the affirmative. The great body of Europeans in India are extremely poor; the class above them are in by no means affluent circumstances, straitened by the falling exchange, and harassed by the calls which the education of their children in England or the failing of health thrusts upon them; while those who can really afford to give largely for the most part already do so, but are very few in number. I entirely agree with the following statement by Archdeacon Baly:—

"Owing to the frequent transfers in the course of service, the necessity of living in small and scattered communities, or to poverty, the condition of by far the greater portion of the European population is such that it is unable to procure for itself either a medical or clerical staff adequate to its bodily and spiritual needs. . . .

"If the religious grant were entirely withdrawn, the Christian communities, both civil and military, in nearly all the mofussil stations would be at once deprived of Christian ordinances. No doubt the Additional Clergy Society and other voluntary agencies would endeavour to supply the want; but at best it could only be done by slow degrees and to a partial extent, and the money applied to this

purpose would be diverted from other necessary objects—education, the relief of Christian poverty, &c. The only places, as a rule, where the European congregations are permanent, large and wealthy enough to provide for their own religious needs from their own resources would be the seats of the Provincial Governments, and some of the hill stations. But these are precisely the congregations which contribute now most largely to the religious, charitable, and educational institutions of the country, and carry on work both in their own stations and elsewhere, which otherwise must be left undone or be paid for by the State. It must be considered also that such congregations are very far from being composed entirely of wealthy persons, official or unofficial."

Supposing State aid to be confined exclusively to the troops and State Railway servants, the result would be little different. All the smaller stations would still suffer, and the partial relief to a few of the larger or middle-sized would not make good the loss. It has been suggested that resources in England might be drawn upon. But we have seen that England is largely drawn upon already, and as the proselytising spirit accounts for most of this, it may be doubted whether a call to send money away from where it is more legitimately applicable in order to support a local church for Europeans in India would meet with much sympathy or response. Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot doubt that the result of withdrawing any of the existing State aid would be disastrous in the extreme.

Independently of the actual ultimate results of any policy proposed to him, however, the statesman cannot ignore its probable effect upon the minds of the people. Sentiment, it need scarcely be said, is an important element in human affairs.

There can be little doubt that the withdrawal of State aid from religion would arouse a general and very bitter feeling of resentment among Europeans in India, to which the Press would give effective expression, exposing without reserve the influences to which they might fancy the measure attributable. This feeling would certainly command much sympathy in England, not merely from the religious world, but from large sections of both political parties, who are friends of religious equality, or concurrent endowment, or the maintenance of the British reputation in the East. On this subject Sir John Strachey has observed :—

"In all our proceedings it must be remembered that we are dealing with subjects which closely touch the religious feelings of a very large number of our countrymen. Although the present proposals will be in complete accordance with the views of that important section of the Christian community which objects to any interference of the State in

such matters, there can be little doubt that the opinions of a still larger number will be different, and that the withdrawal of the aid of Government will be looked upon as a serious discouragement to the cause of religion. Whether the latter views be right or wrong, they ought to be treated with tenderness and respect."

Upon the native mind, on the other hand, the effect will be that of wonder, contempt, and suspicion. I have not served for five and thirty years in intimate association with Orientals, without being convinced that they have a very strong appreciation of religion in itself, evidenced by their habits, ceremonies and austerities, and that they invariably respect those who show similar feelings, while they wonder at and despise those Europeans who are conspicuous for their indifference in such matters. As to the absence of any real grievance in State aid to Christianity, and the hollowness of complaints which occasionally appear in native prints, there can be no doubt. The view I maintain was well expressed by members of the Straits Legislature, in a debate on the proposal to disendow the local Christian Church, from which I make the following extracts :—

Mr. Currie.—"As a dissenter, and a member of an unendowed Church, I extremely regret the decision, the immediate effect of which will be, I think, to curtail the revenues of those Churches which are dependent for their support on voluntary contributions; nor can it fail to check the outflow of that private charity which has always so generously responded to the frequent calls upon it. But, Sir, I also maintain that it is the duty of this Government to make provision for the religious instruction of those who are unable to provide it for themselves. . . . But I go further. I hold it is the duty of a Christian Government in the midst of an overwhelmingly large anti-Christian population to give visible expression to its faith. The connection between Church and State is familiar to all Eastern nations. . . . Surely then to them it must appear both right and fitting that we should dedicate a portion of our revenue to the support of that religion to which we owe so much."

Captain H. E. McCallum, R.E.—"I only wish to point out that this Government has been founded, that this Government exists, amongst nations which are imbued with strong religious beliefs; that they have been accustomed to regard the profession of our faith, the support of our ministers, and the maintenance of our Church buildings, as part and parcel of our rule, and they have seen that faith upheld and reverenced as that cherished in our mother-country. What then will be the feelings of these people, many of them almost fanatics in religious matters, when they learn that the Government uninvitedly abandons her Church? . . . What guarantee have they that a Government who would thus ruthlessly undermine the

foundations of its own religious fabric will not, sooner or later, interfere with those rites which are as dear and sacred to them as is our Church to us[1]?"

But, besides wonder and contempt, those who would deprive Christianity in India of State aid have to reckon with suspicion. To the thinking portion of the Native community it must inevitably be apparent that the arguments which are used to justify the withdrawal apply with equal force to the confiscation of their own religious endowments. And they will know likewise that change of circumstances and change of views have been held to warrant, in the cases of Ireland, of Ceylon, of English burial-grounds, the abrogation of treaty guarantees, legislative enactments, and even private trusts. How can they doubt that a Government which has just destroyed its own religious institutions will, sooner or later, adopt a similar course with theirs? And such ideas among the educated may at any time take among the ignorant the form of rumours of definite intention. If an absurd fancy about a cartridge set India in a blaze, what may not an obviously reasonable and logical inference effect? The Court of Directors in 1832 stopped an innocent statistical enquiry regarding religious endowments for fear of its political consequences. And are we, in our maturer wisdom, to throw away the good moral effects of religion, to stir up strife within and create danger without for—what? A sentiment, and Rx300,000 in a revenue of above eighty millions! The statesman of any creed, or none, may well pause before such a hazard for such a stake.

To sum up this section, our documentary obligations, our moral and religious duty, together with the political expediency of maintaining the repute of the European in India, and avoiding danger to our Empire — all combine to necessitate the continuance of State aid to Christianity. This aid should be afforded to the classes, within the reasonable limits, already indicated at page 26, but it should on no account be applicable to propagating one religion or denomination at the expense of another.

Principal Objections Discussed.

The first point which I may notice is the disposition to make light of documentary obligations. I have endeavoured to show

[1] The whole of this remarkable debate will repay perusal. It took place on February 16th, 1882, in the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements, on the proposal to disendow the local Christian Church.—(*Parliamentary Paper*, C 3228, June 1882).

that these are not by any means so indefinite as has been assumed; and were the difficulty of access to and search of the old records not as great as it is, I believe, from various circumstances and allusions I have noticed, that those obligations would be further proved to have been intelligibly and progressively developed into the system now existing. With regard to the obligatory value of old documents, it must of course be readily admitted to be subject to variation through change of circumstances and change of views; but then this objection may be applied in more directions than one. When we find the circumstances of a factory transformed into those of an empire, it is as legitimate in principle to expand the limitations of old documents to suit the needs of the mixed community which our action has both indirectly and directly created, and the rights to religious equality to which the admission of strange faiths into our pale has given birth, as to insist on their present impracticability for the purpose of evading inconvenient and expensive duties, or of applying theories which belong to European and not to Oriental society.

Another disposition to be remarked is that of trying to whittle down the measure of State aid to religion, without denying its abstract necessity. I need touch but lightly on such devices for minimising as the use of statistics of males only, or of church attendance on a particular day, or of counting the superior, or "gazetted," Government servants only. These eliminations, as has been trenchantly remarked, have no advantage except that of enabling those who use them "to point to the very small residuum" left, "and then to enquire triumphantly if it is worth while to keep up a separate chaplain for such a very few sheep in the wilderness."

The repudiation of the claims, prescriptive and original as well as documentary, of the whole non-official class, without any practical suggestion as to what other source except the State can in the main supply their wants, has already been discussed.

The distinction attempted to be drawn between Government servants coming out from home and those born in India has already been alluded to. Being essentially unsound, it of course leads to a series of dilemmas. If there be any need for clergy at all, the need of the Indian-born, who are poorer and more ignorant as a class, must be greater than that of the British-born. Again, if we grant doctors to both alike, why not clergy? The soundness of this analogy is not shaken by the remark that doctors are of no creed. True; yet their ministrations are often none the less restricted by either their special qualifications, or

the special duties assigned to them. It is as easy in a large station to have separate clergy for two denominations as to have separate doctors for staff and civil work. Moreover, as doctors can make a living by private practice, their ministrations are more generally procurable than those of the clergy. Fortunately, the distinction is unworkable in practice.

Another repudiation suggested is that of the claims of *all* civil employés who do not happen to be able to avail themselves of ministrations primarily provided for the military, the ground being that some few of them who come from England are well enough paid to get what they need for themselves. But as those thus deprived will, by the hypothesis, be scattered in small non-military stations, how can they possibly pay a clergyman for themselves? And with what justice can the whole cost of providing for the body of ill-paid officials in the same localities be imposed upon them?

Those, however, who whittle down so far unite in admitting the need for State aid in the case of soldiers and their families and State Railway servants. Why? They are not poorer than the bulk of the lower clerks and non-official population. Neither are they more ignorant. Are they supposed to be more degraded and wicked? Are their families more in need of clergy than any body's else? Why should not the rich civilians and merchants be made to pay for them too? Why should not the better-paid military officers and State Railway servants help to pay for the poor clerks and non-officials? Why, finally, should not the charitable public at home be drawn freely upon for the help of all? This climax of the whittling down process, the restriction of State aid to soldiers and their families and State Railway servants, seems to be both inconsistent and unjust. The State must, within reasonable limits, afford religious ministrations to all alike, or to none.

The financial objection may be briefly noticed, because it has been made the ground for some niggardliness in satisfying the reasonable claims of the Presbyterian and other denominations, and the fear of it has overshadowed such disposition to make efficient religious provision upon the basis of religious equality as has from time to time appeared. But, like other spectres of the imagination, it disappears on examination. A late Finance Minister, Sir Richard Temple, maintained, at a time when the finances were not at all flourishing, that the ecclesiastical expenditure was "reasonable, and even susceptible of moderate increase." Nor has the fear that a more liberal policy as to grants-in-aid, and their extension to various denominations,

would lead to large additional demands, any foundation. If the rule of "reasonable limits" were kept in view the admissible claims would be very moderate, justice would be satisfied, and all ground of discontent removed. It cannot seriously be held that our present outlay, or even somewhat more, cannot be spared for such a purpose as this, and the settlement should be final.

I will next consider an objection which is, perhaps, the most important of any which have been brought forward, since it not only turns up at the bottom of many chains of argument which have been used in India, but was mainly relied upon by those in England who took a part in the attack on the Christian Church in India some years ago. This objection is stated in the form of a proposition—that it is "*as unjust to tax Hindus and Muhammadans to support Christian ministers as it would be to tax Christians to support Brahmins and Moulvies.*" The reply is, that Christians are now taxed to support Brahmins and Moulvies. Each now *is* taxed to support the religion of the other, and a gross injustice and breach of religious equality would be perpetrated if any of the aid now given to Christians were withdrawn, because "why should one class of Her Majesty's subjects have religious teachers provided at public expense and not another?"

It is evident that those who prefer this objection are under a serious misconception of fact. The facts are these. Hindu, Mahometan, Sikh, and other non-Christian religious institutions are in possession of endowments, in some cases in the form of annual cash payments from the Treasury, but more frequently in that of estates exempted from the payment of land revenue to Government. Scarcely a temple or a mosque can be found throughout India which does not receive a grant from the State in one form or the other. The aggregate value of these grants is uncertain, for they mostly do not pass through the public accounts, because the Government have long since (Act XX of 1863) divested themselves of even the formal control which they had inherited from preceding rulers, and because the Court of Directors many years ago decided that it would be impolitic to make any general inquiries. But it is known to be very large, and the estimate of between three and four millions sterling, which has been offered, is probably not at all excessive. In India, I need scarcely say, all land is originally vested in the State, and all immunity from paying revenue for it to the State flows originally from the grant of the State itself. But for these "alienations," as they are officially called, their amount, whatever

it may be, would come to credit of the State in the public accounts. It is undeniable, therefore, that they necessitate other equivalent taxation. But for them, salt tax, or stamp duties, or some other impost might be dispensed with. The Christian pays his share of general taxes, and it is as true to assert that he is taxed to support Hinduism and Mahometanism as to assert that Hindus and Mahometans are taxed to support Christian ministers. Surely Christians have as good a right as their fellow subjects to State support for their religion. Assuming the number of taxpayers in the British Provinces to be 220 millions in round numbers, and the sum granted by the State for Christian ministrations to be 30 lakhs of rupees (Rx300,000), this amounts to 2·6 pies (or about one-fifth of a penny, at an exchange of 15*d.* per rupee) per head per annum. The grant for non-Christian ministrations, on the other hand, taken (to be well within the mark) at 3½ crores, or Rx3,500,000, gives a contribution of 2 annas and 6 pies (or about twopence halfpenny) per head per annum. Thus the individual European pays nearly *twelve times as much* for non-Christian ministrations as the individual Native pays for Christian ministrations[1]. It has been rejoined that, even accepting these premises, the Christian gets an undue share of State aid when the Christian population is compared with the Native. Undoubtedly the supply of the Christian's spiritual wants costs more per head, but this is the case in every branch of the administration. The English magistrate, doctor, soldier, policeman, newspaper editor, is a more costly article than his native equivalent.

A fact so destructive of the argument of those who would assail State aid to Christianity in India has, naturally, not been left without attempts to explain it away. Two lines of pleading have been used for this end.

Under the first of these, it is stated that there is an implied contract with these temples and mosques, and that we could not justly resume the property which had been already alienated by our predecessors, any more than we could justly interfere with whatever other rights of private property had accrued prior to the period of British rule. It is added that only new grants in the course of British rule to non-Christian religious ministrations (which have never been made) could be used in justification of State aid to Christianity. Admitting this proposition, it cannot alter the *fact* that the non-Christian grants come out of the revenues of the State, or the truth that a breach of religious

[1] This passage is adapted from one in Archdeacon Baly's letter of April 28th, 1882.

equality is as unjust as a breach of faith. The simple test—"could these grants to non-Christians be resumed without breach of faith"—by which we are told that this point may be settled, is not only no test at all, but entirely irrelevant. But the proposition can by no means be admitted, for we are told, and rightly, that old engagements may be modified by change of circumstances and change of views, and that the Charter of William III may be treated as obsolete. Moreover, we have before us the actual disregard by Her Majesty's Government, on this ground, of the capitulation with the Dutch of so recent a date as 1796 in the case of the Wolfendahl Church in Ceylon (*Parliamentary Paper*, C 2983, 1881); as also the disendowment of the Irish Church, and the opening of Church burial-grounds in 1880. In the Irish Church Debates of 1868–69, Mr. Bright argued that "if endowments are found to be mischievous, Parliament may put them to other uses," while Sir Roundell Palmer admitted that "the nation has a large interest in and control over every species of public property," and that Church endowments are such property (*Hansard*, Vol. 194, pp. 1893 and 1933). The non-Christian grants are, doubtless, practically unresumable as a whole; but the cause is, not any legal difficulty, but simply that those who would despoil without scruple the religion of their countrymen do not dare to despoil the religion of the Mahometan and the Hindu.

The second line of argument is, that the State cannot be said to grant that which it never acquired, and that it never acquired those lands or their revenue because, when it acquired the territories in which the lands were situated, the latter were expressly reserved to their existing purposes, either by treaty or by notification. This proposition suggests its own refutation. In any cases in which lands were reserved to their existing purposes by treaty or notification, they were none the less acquired by conquest. What occurred may be said to have been analogous to the action of the Commissioners in which the property of the Irish Church was vested, which was described by Mr. Gladstone as "technically in the nature of a re-endowment" (*Hansard*, Vol. 194, page 421). Moreover, when so regranted, or when confirmed to their holders by treaty or engagement, they were so upon the same tenure under which they were held under the rulers whom we superseded, which involved a liability to resumption. Finally, the argument goes too far, and would preclude the State from all dealing with secular alienations, as much as with religious ones. But, as a matter of fact, any such reservations by treaty or notification were so rare, that they may almost

be described as non-existent. Proclamations, such as that of Mountstuart Elphinstone, merely assured the conquered people against indiscriminate confiscation of private rights, but in no way barred the legitimate action of the State. Private property, whether secular or religious, was generally left alone on our acquisitions of territory, and was subsequently dealt with as its nature and the circumstances appeared to demand. In Western India, for instance, the laws eventually codified into the "Regulations of 1827" provided for inquiries into titles to alienations and resumptions under various circumstances; the "Rules of 1842" similarly dealt specially with cash allowances for religious objects: Act XI of 1852 provided more stringently for such investigations; and a vast number of alienations were partially assessed under the Bombay Summary Settlement Acts of 1863: besides this, a general power to assess rent-free lands for State purposes, reserved from the beginning of British rule, still exists under section 45 of the Revenue Code of 1879. Speaking broadly of alienations throughout India, it may be said that they are almost all taxable under various local laws, or the common law of India; they are all resumable under the one or the other, and both rights have been exercised in numerous instances, though only of course under very special circumstances justifying such a course. These well-known incidents of Indian land tenure have been recognised by law courts and text books, and are attested by revenue settlements and alienation sanads. They are acted upon occasionally in the Native States around us.

It will be understood that I have, in the preceding paragraph, confined myself to broad general statements, such as are applicable to India as a whole, though not necessarily to every part of it, because such treatment appeared to be sufficient for the present purpose. But it would be quite possible to maintain these statements by an exhaustive examination of public engagements, local laws, and authoritative rulings. I would not be understood as implying that, because all non-Christian alienations are in their nature and in law grants resumable by the State, they therefore might be actually resumed. It might occur to those who are not familiar with Indian feeling, that the knot of unequal endowment might be shortly cut by resuming the religious endowments of Hindus and Mahometans, and thus reducing all religions to a dead level of State non-endowment. But no one who has any personal acquaintance with India needs to be reminded that such a step as this is politically impossible. India might be lost in the attempt. The following remarks fell from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, then Secretary to the India

Board, during the debate of 1833, on the clause increasing the Indian Episcopate:—

"The only thing increased by this proposition was the efficiency of the episcopate. Was that an evil? But then, it was said that it was going upon the principle of the Irish establishment—an indefensible enormity. Did honourable gentlemen consider the magnitude of the religious establishments of the Pagans and Mahometans drawing from the State several millions? They ought not to complain of this small sum being appropriated to the religion of their fellow subjects. Instead of being a parallel case with that of Ireland, it was more like that of France, when Napoleon gave a large income to the many and a small income to the few. Not only were Mahometanism, Paganism, and the Church of England supported in India, but Presbyterianism and Catholicism. . . . Why then object to £11,000 being given to the Church of the dominant nation, when every religion was supported out of the revenues of the State in proportion to its extent." —(*Hansard*, 3rd Series, vol. xix, page 801.)

It would seem that the objection is met for ever by this effective refutation.

There is another aspect of this question of taxation for religious purposes which may be briefly noticed. If it be contended, as by Mr. Buckingham in 1833 (*Hansard*, vol. xix, page 33), that "every religion should be supported by those who believed in it, and who on that ground would be willing to give it their aid," then it is just as true to assert that this is the system actually in force in India as to assert the converse, that one portion of the community is taxed to maintain the religion of another. The 3½ millions given to non-Christian ministrations may be said to come exclusively out of the far larger amount of taxation borne by them, and the grants to Christianity may similarly be charged to the taxation borne by Christians, which would undoubtedly far more than cover them. The State will, of course, on independent grounds, hold the balance of general taxation fairly between one class of the community and another.

The fact that in India all non-Christian religions (and the Portuguese Roman Catholic, too) are endowed by the State, when honestly realised, cuts the ground from under all arguments for reducing Christian ecclesiastical establishments—nay, it would justify the moderate increase in them which Sir Richard Temple advocated in any instance in which it was satisfactorily proved that justice, absolute or relative, required it. By the light of this fact, it becomes unseemly to draw upon the resources of the charitable in England for the maintenance of a local Christian church. When temples and mosques are supported out of

the general revenue, it is unnecessary to prove the impossibility of meeting the cost of Christian clergy from other sources before resorting to it for that object. It is just as legitimate to support both Christian and non-Christian religious ministrations out of that revenue as it would be to defray the charges of each out of special taxes levied exclusively on the classes for whose benefit each exists. Nor is there any injustice in drawing upon the same source for such moral police as the inferior European and Eurasian population may be found to stand in need of. If there be injustice anywhere, it lies in the small amount which the Christian receives in comparison with the non-Christian, and in the insufficient aid which some denominations of Christians obtain.

Disadvantages and Shortcomings of Existing System.

The question put by the Secretary of State for India in 1881 (supra, p. 19), caused considerable difference of opinion in the Government of India[1]. Four members of the Council held that the obligations of the Government extended, within reasonable limits, to British soldiers and all its other Christian servants, with their families, and that the existing staff and outlay were not at all excessive, but might be rearranged so as to effect more good. Three other members held that State paid religious ministration should be strictly confined to European British-born soldiers and servants on State railways, with their families, and that the establishments and outlay should be reduced accordingly. The remaining member (myself), agreeing generally with the four, went somewhat farther in recognising the claims of the non-official community, and proposed a plan for relieving the State of the direct administration of its grants, with a view to their better utilisation. The four, on the other hand, were ready to support this plan rather than abandon the obligations hitherto recognised. Under these circumstances, the Secretary of State decided that there was no necessity to proceed farther in the matter.

It may have been inferred from what has gone before that I am in favour of leaving matters as they are, with perhaps an extension of the grant-in-aid system. But this is by no means so. The existing system is open to certain objections which will leave it constantly subject to attack; now that the general question has been raised, there are those who will never let it rest till they obtain modifications more or less consonant with

[1] Full details will be found in the "Return" No. 71, already quoted.

their peculiar views. What the Church has most to fear is gradual death from inanition, brought about by successive minor withdrawals of support on the ground of an alleged financial necessity, or by insidious limitations, such as that placed in 1878 upon the employment of "aided clergy," by fixing an annual maximum grant for that purpose. Of the former method an illustration is afforded by the Report of the Finance Committee of 1887, which contained (as we learn from the Parliamentary debate on the Indian Budget in 1890) recommendations reducing the ecclesiastical grants by Rx30,000 per annum, and this, notwithstanding that the European army had just been increased by 10,000 men and the railway establishments had grown by 2,200 in the preceding six years. These recommendations have hitherto lain in abeyance, but might be carried out any day by mere executive order, without notice or opportunity for remonstrance. It, therefore, appears necessary to put the Christian ecclesiastical house definitely in order, in accordance with logic, equity, and the national Church system existing in India.

The national Church system existing in India, taking the term in its widest application, is this, that all religions are *now* concurrently State-aided. To the non-Christian religions, the form of aid is endowment; the State respects and supports them all, but interferes with none in the management of their revenues or affairs. To the Christian religion, the form is annual Budget appropriations, grants in aid, capitation grants, coupled with minute rules and regulations—and more, the State enrols, for the most part, the ministers of religion among its regular Services, supervises their distribution, regulates their ministrations, and interferes generally in Church administration. This Christian form is unsatisfactory, and embarrassing to both Church and State. The State, notwithstanding its professions of religious impartiality and non-interference, finds itself administering in detail religious affairs for the benefit of one small portion of its subjects, the Europeans, and responsible for the success and sufficiency of its arrangements. Its position is disadvantageous, and theoretically indefensible. The Christian Church, again, finds (more or less in all her branches) that the State connection is prejudicial to the interests and advancement of religion; that it hampers, limits, and misdirects pecuniary resources, separates individuals and bodies who should work in unison, and fails to meet the religious circumstances of the present day. In short, the difficulty of the State on the one hand, and of the Church on the other, are real, and require an early and effectual remedy.

One illustration of the Church's difficulty is the case of the

Anglican Bishoprics. Some sixty years ago an Act of Parliament fixed their number at three. Five more have since been constituted, by resort to three different methods, but now, when episcopal control, discipline and support have become indispensable in respect of the large body of clergy, native as well as European, who have grown up with the Native Church, legal technicalities prevent a rearrangement and increase of territorial Dioceses, and State regulations may be interpreted unfavourably to this kind of work.

The clergy, again, are altogether insufficient for the duties in connection with the army and civil employés of the Government which they are supposed to perform. This applies to all denominations receiving State aid, but especially to the clergy of the Church of England, who have a larger European body to deal with, and an extremely scattered one. Any person must feel this, who will study a few pages of the "Memorandum on the duties of Chaplains" (Return No. 71, pp. 18–60), observe on a map the distances which many of the clergy have to travel to visit their numerous outstations, and consider what must be the effect on residents at some of the latter who receive only two visits in the year. Are mere occasional public services, without pastoral care, sufficient for the nurture of religion? It may safely be affirmed that double the number of clergy would not be too many in order to afford reasonable religious privileges and due pastoral care to all those who are entitled to them even on the existing basis.

But the most serious and growing difficulty is that of supplying the offices of religion and pastoral care to the large body of non-official Europeans and Eurasians, who are scattered over the country, or collected, especially the poorer classes, in the large towns. Even if it be admitted that the documentary obligations of the State do not include "miscellaneous congregations of Christians wherever they may grow up in this vast territory," the necessity of religion and its morality to all such remains, and is important not merely to the individuals themselves, but to the community, which is affected by their condition and behaviour. There they are, multiplying in godless, and too often indigent, condition outside our limited religious machinery, and they cannot be for long ignored. If the State will not provide additional funds on their account, then existing funds must be redistributed so as to embrace them, and trusted in the hands of those who will utilise them to the utmost. The State connection limits means, divides forces, cripples efforts, and is an anachronism fast becoming intolerable.

Future System Proposed.

As to the principles upon which such a reorganisation as I advocate should proceed, it will have been seen that in this case of India I am in entire accord with those who express the belief that "no sure standing ground is to be found short of the principle of religious equality"; that "the equality of all creeds before the State" should be "as fundamental an axiom of modern civilisation as the equality of all men before the law"; and that the State should support all religions or none. In some countries, where the religion of the State or of the dominant class has ceased to be that of the vast majority of the nation, and the latter receive no State aid, it may possibly be necessary to withdraw from the "established" religion the State aid which it receives. But in India we have no "established" religion, and are free from the embarrassments it produces. We have no need to cast about to devise a system, for there is one already in existence—that of concurrent endowment—under which the non-Christian religions have received State aid for centuries, into which the Christian religion first entered when the Portuguese made their endowments, which was developed by ourselves as soon as our merchants' adventure was transformed into a State, and which was perfected on a truly national basis by the recognition of the denominations of Christianity in the Statute and declarations of 1833. That a system of concurrent endowment is sound in principle appears beyond dispute; that it is workable in practice is evident not only from the great Indian non-Christian illustration, but from the example of some of our colonies. The principle has been growing into favour even in the United Kingdom of late, as a solution of certain difficulties. But even if held to be unsuitable there, that can be no bar to its extension where, as in India, it has long been in successful operation.

The modifications of existing system required will necessarily vary with the circumstances of the different denominations. As to the Anglican Church, it will be desirable in the first instance to adopt for the army and railway servants capitation grants on the scale now allowed for Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Wesleyan Ministers, in lieu of fixed salaries for chaplains, because these two bodies fluctuate greatly, and the ministrations to them will always require variation accordingly. After deducting a certain annual sum, such as may, by calculation on a

series of years, be deemed to represent these grants, the remainder of the present annual payment should be capitalised and vested in a Church Body, to be administered by them together with the capitation grants, at their discretion, for religious ministrations to the whole body of European and Eurasian members of the Church of England, whether in government employ or not. The bishops and chaplains would then be relieved of their position as State functionaries, the Church would be free, and left to her own efforts for development. By this means, the same resources would go much farther, private liberality would be fostered, and the whole church staff, bishops as well as priests, would be able to take up whatever work was from time to time most appropriate. No doubt there would be a gradual redistribution of Church resources. Salaries would be reduced, and pensions as a rule dispensed with (saving all existing rights), the clergy would be augmented, new bishoprics would be readily formed under revised powers, and a wider field would be better and more systematically occupied.

In the case of the Church of Rome there would be less to change. It would be for her authorities to consider whether they would prefer capitation grants alone to the present combination of salaries and grants. But all minor allowances should merge in an annual sum, to be fixed so as to afford also means of ministering to the poor Eurasian class (at least half of whom are Roman Catholics), capitalised and vested formally in a Church Body, as in the case of the Church of England.

For the Church of Scotland, the Wesleyans, and any other denominations who were willing to take State aid, the capitation system, coupled with grants to aid in pastoral care for their poorer adherents, would probably be found most suitable. But in this instance it might be necessary to constitute a Board of Commissioners, charged with receiving and paying over the grants to the several claimants, though leaving their administration to the denominational authorities recognised in each case.

Out of the necessity of providing to some extent for the non-official Europeans and Eurasians, many of whom, in the lower ranks of life especially, are Roman Catholics or Nonconformists, there will probably arise a scrutiny, and a revision, if necessary, of the distribution of State aid between the several Christian denominations. That it will lead to any very material changes, I do not believe. It has already been shewn (page 9) that in India the very large majority of European and Eurasian Christians belong to the Anglican and Roman Churches, or to the Presbyterian and Wesleyan or other bodies. Those of the last-

named are few in number, and have, for the most part, no difficulty in availing themselves of the ministrations of one or other of these. But wherever they are sufficiently numerous, they should, of course, receive separate aid, if they desire it. The condition of affairs is the reverse of that which existed in Ceylon, where it is officially stated (*Lord Kimberley's despatch No. 4 of November 19th*, 1880; *Parliamentary Papers*, C 2983, 1881) that "the main burden of the work performed by Protestant ministers in Ceylon falls upon those who receive no assistance from the State." There is, therefore, no risk of a flood of demands from countless sects. If the revision be once approved of, there need be no difficulty in securing fair treatment and distinct administration of funds for each. This, however, is a matter of comparative detail, which, I am confident, could easily be settled hereafter—the more so in that the different sections of Christians in India, in view of their position in face of the heathen, are happily, free individually and collectively, from that rancour and desire for mastery which is too often observed in England. Supposing that, under these arrangements, any sect remained unprovided for, it could only be so through individual idiosyncrasy or insignificant numbers, such as would practically also deprive any petty knot of Anglicans or Roman Catholics of State aid. In other words, it would be excluded by the rule of "reasonable limits."

By such a revision, the Church of England might be to some extent a pecuniary loser, while the Roman Catholics and Non-conformists received a larger share of the allotment than at present. But, in view of this contingency the present Bishop of Lahore remarks [1], that

"there would be a full equivalent for any small surrender the Church might be called upon to make, in the stimulus given to corporate life and individual liberality, and in bringing the clergy into a more homogeneous body."

My proposal, put provisionally into a categorical shape subject to minor adjustment hereafter, is as follows:—

1*st*.—Two Church Bodies to be recognised (and if not already formally and legally existing, to be constituted) which shall respectively represent, for all India, the Anglican Church and the Church of Rome. The Anglican and Roman Bodies to have full control of both the funds and the executive administration of their respective Churches.

[1] In his Preface to the "Minute"; see note on p. 2.

2nd.—A Board of Commissioners also to be formed, to have merely control over the distribution of funds to the other Protestant denominations, leaving the internal application of grants, together with all administrative functions, to the grantees.

3rd.—Payment to be made by the State for ministrations to soldiers and State Railway servants (with the families and dependents of such), on the system of capitation grants now adopted in the case of Presbyterian and Wesleyan soldiers. The Body or denomination concerned to be entitled to receive such grants at any station where, and as long as, a fixed minimum number of such soldiers or servants was maintained, and to be bound to supply clerical ministrations accordingly. In other words, the Anglican Church would draw, for her services to the Army, grants similar to those now given to other denominations.

4th.—The funds at the disposal of the Bodies and Commissioners to consist of the existing State grants, with possibly some moderate augmentation in the cases of the Bodies *other than the Anglican*, but after deduction, in all cases, proportionate to the amount likely to be drawn, on an average, as capitation grants under the preceding clause.

5th.—The annual amount, other than capitation grants, thus placed at the disposal of the Bodies to be capitalised and derived from Indian Government promissory notes (i. e. 'Rupee Paper') or similar securities to be legally vested in them, and not from budget grants from year to year.

6th.—The financial settlement thus made with the Bodies and Commissioners to be once for all and permanent; no reductions to be made, and no claims for increase to be admissible, in future. The capitation grants will vary, of course.

7th.—The ecclesiastical establishments or Services now paid by the State to be handed over to the absolute control of the Body or Church to which they respectively appertain, with obligation to respect and maintain all existing rights and vested interests, but with full power over all organisation and patronage in the future. Act I of 1880 (the Religious Societies Act) of the Indian Legislature was passed to facilitate the due administration of all funds belonging to Christian Churches and religious purposes.

8th.—All exclusively military churches to be retained and kept in repair by the State. All other churches to be handed over to, and legally vested in, the Bodies to which they respectively appertain, subject only, in cases where the State has contributed

to their erection, to a preferential right to their use by soldiers and State Railway Servants (with their families and dependents), for whom capitation grants may be made under clause 3.

In explanation of the above, I have only one remark to make —that the principle of concurrent endowment is quite distinct from the measure of it. It is consistent with it that the State should endow wholly, or in part, progressively or once for all. Under the Native dynasties which preceded us, concurrent endowment of non-Christian religions was progressive; but since our accession to power we have necessarily and wisely drawn the line at the *status quo*. We make no new grants to Hinduism, Mahometanism, &c., and, speaking broadly, we take none away (though we *might* do so, as I have shown). The same course should now be pursued in respect of the proposed resettlement of the existing concurrent State aid of Christianity in its several phases. Consistency demands this, and also expediency, because if the settlement now made be not permanent, additional State aid will become a bone of contention between sects, and a petty disturbance to the finances. The present financial *status quo*, with perhaps some moderate revision or even increase as suggested, will be fair to the bodies of Christians among themselves: in view of the facts put forward at page 36, it is unquestionably reasonable in comparison with the State aid enjoyed by the non-Christian section of the community. For meeting the demands which growing population may create in future, Christians and non-Christians will be equally left to their own resources, as the latter already have been for some three-quarters of a century.

In conclusion, I would appeal to all "friends of religious equality," all "believers in the principle of freedom of religion from State patronage and State control," all who are convinced of the truth of Christianity, all who recognise the civil expediency of continuing its beneficial influence to the poor Europeans and Eurasians in India, all who would still the strife and jealousy between rival creeds and sects, to unite with me in promoting a settlement which appears to be equally consistent with logic, good policy, and religion. For Christianity no more is claimed than non-Christianity now enjoys. For the Church of England no dominant position is desired. The assistance to the cause which each can at present render is to endeavour to make the origin, constitution, rights and privileges of Christians in India, as herein set forth, together with the defects of the present system and the remedy for them, familiar to all Europeans

and Eurasians with whom they may come in contact, to create an atmosphere of knowledge of the case and sympathy with it, and to maintain an attitude of vigilance as to any deterioration in the position. Thus, whenever the question has become more matured, and a time for action arrives, all will be prepared to take their part in furthering the cause, and a decisive success may be achieved.

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